

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 246675

21 11

ORIGIN SPC-03

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-15

OMB-01 AID-20 EB-11 CIEP-02 TRSE-00 STR-08 CEA-02

COME-00 FRB-02 XMB-07 OPIC-12 LAB-06 SIL-01 AEC-11

EUR-25 NIC-01 SCEM-02 INT-08 SAJ-01 /209 R

DRAFTED BY S/PC:RBFINN:LPB

APPROVED BY S/PC:WLORD

EA:RINGERSOLL (SUBS)

DOD/ISA:DDOOLIN (SUBS)

----- 036749

R 2247Z DEC 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

INFO CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 246675

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJECT: POLICY TOWARD JAPAN

1. PURSUANT TO DISCUSSION AT RECENT CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING IN TOKYO A NEW STUDY OF POLICY TOWARD JAPAN HAS BEEN DIRECTED WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON POSSIBLE TRENDS IN JAPAN THAT COULD REPRESENT DEPARTURES FROM ITS CURRENT POLICIES AND HAVE IMPORTANT BEARING ON U.S. INTERESTS. DEPARTMENT HAS PREPARED ILLUSTRATIVE OUTLINE OF ISSUES THAT POLICY STUDY MIGHT ADDRESS AND WILL ENDEAVOR TO PREPARE FIRST DRAFT OF POLICY PAPER IN JANUARY, WHICH WILL BE CIRCULATED TO ADDRESSEES, DOD, AND INTERESTED AGENCIES FOR COMMENT.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 246675

2. ATTACHED IS DRAFT OUTLINE FOR ANY COMMENT ADDRESSEES MIGHT WISH TO MAKE AT THIS TIME.

BEGIN TEXT: OUTLINE OF POLICY STUDY ON JAPAN

WHERE IS JAPAN GOING, AND WHAT SHOULD THE U.S. DO ABOUT IT.
(AN ASSESSMENT OF MAJOR TRENDS IN JAPAN WHICH WILL BE OF
BASIC IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S. OVER THE NEXT 5-10 YEARS AND A
STATEMENT OF U.S. POLICIES WHICH WOULD PROMOTE A BENEFICIAL
RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN. THIS OUTLINE IS INTENDED TO BE
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE KEY ISSUES RATHER THAN FULLY COMPRE-
HENSIVE.)

1. BRIEF RESUME OF JAPAN'S POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT AND TIES
WITH THE U.S.:

CLOSE, AND FOR MANY YEARS DEPENDENT, RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S.

JAPAN'S CORE POLICIES, WHICH ARE GENERALLY ACCEPTED AND
HAVE PROVED SUCCESSFUL: MODERATE GOVERNMENT UNDER PARLIA-
MENTARY SYSTEM. CAUTIOUS BUT EXPANDING FOREIGN RELATIONS;
HIGH DEGREE OF COOPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL INSTITU-
TIONS. RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH AS FREE ENTERPRISE, TRADING
NATION; GRADUAL LIBERALIZATION OF ECONOMIC POLICIES.
LIMITED DEFENSE EFFORT; SECURITY DEPENDENCE ON U.S.

RISE TO MAJOR POWER STATUS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL GROWTH OF
NATIONAL CONFIDENCE.

EFFECTIVENESS OF U.S. POLICIES IN CONTRIBUTING TO JAPAN'S
STABILITY, DEVELOPMENT AND WESTERN ALIGNMENT.

2. FORCES AT WORK IN JAPAN TODAY.

A. OVERALL QUESTIONS - HAS THERE BEEN A SIGNIFICANT
CHANGE IN THE PAST FEW YEARS IN THE NATURE OF POSTWAR
JAPAN AND IN JAPANESE PERCEPTIONS OF ITS "PARTNERSHIP"
WITH THE U.S.? WHAT IS JAPAN'S VIEW OF ITS LONG-RANGE
INTERESTS AND PURPOSES? DOES JAPAN WANT AND NEED PARTNER-
SHIP WITH ANY ONE NATION?

PARALLELS AND DIFFERENCES WITH WESTERN EUROPE.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 246675

B. WHAT ARE MAJOR TRENDS IN JAPANESE POLITICS? HOW LONG
CAN WE EXPECT MODERATE CONSERVATIVES, I.E. LDP COALITION,
TO RULE? WILL THEY CONTINUE, AFTER DEPARTURE OF IMMEDIATE
POST-WAR LEADERS, TO BE PRO-U.S.? WHAT ARE THE FORCES
WHICH MIGHT CAUSE A CHANGE IN JAPAN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
AND ORIENTATION? WHAT TYPE OF GOVERNMENT WOULD MOST
PROBABLY SUCCEED THE PRESENT LDP-TYPE COALITION? MIGHT
SOCIALISTS OR COMMUNISTS ENTER OR FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT IN
THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE? WHAT WOULD BE THE CONSEQUENCES
FOR THE U.S. UNDER THESE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES?

C. WILL JAPAN BE ABLE TO CONTINUE A SATISFACTORY ECONOMIC
POLICY IN VIEW OF:

(1) SLOW-DOWN IN RATE OF GROWTH AND SOCIAL AND WELFARE

CONCERNS;

- (2) INABILITY TO ASSURE SUPPLIES OF RAW MATERIALS E.G. OIL, AND FEAR THAT ITS DEPENDENCE ON RAW MATERIALS WILL EXPOSE JAPAN TO PRESSURE BY SUPPLIERS;
- (3) DEPENDENCE UPON U.S. AND OTHERS FOR MARKETS;

(4) JAPAN'S IMAGE IN THE WORLD -- FEAR OF JAPANESE COMPETITION.

WHAT POSTURE ARE JAPAN'S LEADERS LIKELY TO ADOPT, POLITICAL OR MILITARY, TO MANAGE THESE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY?

(NOTE: AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF KEY FACTORS AND PROJECTIONS SHOULD BE APPENDED TO THE STUDY ESTIMATING GROWTH RATES, TRADE PATTERNS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AND STATING ASSUMPTIONS IN REGARD TO RAW MATERIALS, LABOR AVAILABILITY, ETC.)

D. WHAT PRESSURES MIGHT CAUSE JAPAN TO CHANGE ITS PRESENT SECURITY POLICY OF LIMITED ARMAMENT AND DEPENDENCE ON U.S. STRATEGIC PROTECTION? WHAT FORM MIGHT THESE CHANGES TAKE?

- (1) NUCLEAR ARMAMENT
 - (2) STEPPED-UP CONVENTIONAL REARMAMENT
 - (3) REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF DEFENSE FORCES
- WHAT EFFECT WOULD EACH OF THESE HAVE ON JAPAN'S SECURITY ALLIANCE WITH THE U.S.?

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 246675

E. ARE PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES HAVING A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON JAPANESE POLICY -- DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENT APPROACHES, NATIONALIST TRENDS, BELIEF THAT THE U.S. WANTS A MORE INDEPENDENT JAPAN, FEELING THAT JAPAN SHOULD BE MORE ASIAN, DECLINING FEAR OF RUSSIA, AND LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S.?

3. IS JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY LIKELY, IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY TRENDS, TO REMAIN CLOSELY LINKED TO THE U.S.? TO WHAT EXTENT IS JAPAN "LOCKED IN" WITH THE U.S.?

WHAT ARE THE CHANCES OF ALTERNATIVE FOREIGN POLICIES FOR JAPAN, AND TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD U.S. POLICY BE EFFECTIVE IN COUNTERING A JAPANESE SHIFT IN ANY OF THESE DIRECTIONS?

A. NON-ALIGNMENT. MIGHT JAPAN MOVE TOWARD AN INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED POSITION AVOIDING POLITICAL AND SECURITY ALLIANCES WHILE CULTIVATING GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL OTHER NATIONS? PROS AND CONS FOR JAPAN FROM POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY VIEWPOINTS.

B. NATIONALISM. MIGHT JAPAN, IN ADDITION TO MOVING TO

A NON-ALIGNED POSITION, TAKE A MORE ASSERTIVE ROLE IN DEVELOPING AND APPLYING ITS NATIONAL POWER, PARTICULARLY IN EAST ASIA AND IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS? POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASPECTS.

C. TILT TOWARD CHINA OR THE SOVIET UNION. MIGHT JAPAN MOVE AWAY FROM THE U.S. AND TOWARD CLOSER RELATIONS OR EVEN AN ALLIANCE WITH EITHER CHINA OR THE SOVIET UNION? ARE THERE BASIC RIVALRIES AND HOSTILITY BETWEEN JAPAN, CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION? HOW STRONG ARE THE LEVERS (RAW MATERIALS, NORTHERN TERRITORIES, ETC.) AVAILABLE TO CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION FOR MANEUVERING JAPAN? WHAT WOULD BE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY BENEFITS AND LOSSES FOR JAPAN? WHAT WOULD BE THE IMPACT ON JAPAN OF SINO-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT?

4. WHAT ARE U.S. INTERESTS IN JAPAN? IS JAPAN THE KEY-STONE OF OUR ASIAN POLICY, OR MERELY ONE OF SEVERAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 246675

BUILDING BLOCKS? WHAT ARE THE OVERALL BENEFITS FROM OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN, GIVEN ITS SECURITY DEPENDENCE ON US, ITS MODEST ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL COUNCILS, AND THE MIXED GAINS TO US FROM ITS COMPETITIVE-PROTECTION-IST ECONOMIC POSITION? WOULD IT BE IN U.S. INTEREST TO MAKE A MAXIMUM EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE PRESENT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN, AND IF SO, WHAT WOULD BE THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS? WOULD A STRONG, NON-ALIGNED OR NATIONALIST JAPAN SERVE U.S. INTERESTS AS WELL AS THE EXISTING CAUTIOUS, DEPENDENT JAPAN, WHICH FOR THE MOST PART IS CONTENT TO REACT TO AND FOLLOW U.S. INITIATIVES?

5. SPECIFIC ISSUES IN U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS:
POLITICAL

A. GIVEN THE CUMBERSOME NATURE OF DECISION-MAKING BY CONSENSUS-BUILDING IN JAPAN AND THE CONSIDERABLE CAUTION OF ITS FOREIGN POLICIES, HOW CAN THE U.S. EFFECTIVELY EXERT INFLUENCE ON JAPAN? WHAT KIND OF U.S.-JAPAN CONSULTATIONS PRODUCE THE BEST RESULTS?

B. WHAT CAN AND SHOULD WE DO TO STRENGTHEN MODERATE POLITICAL FORCES IN JAPAN?

ECONOMIC

C. SHOULD WE CONTINUE TO PRESS JAPAN ALL ALONG THE ECONOMIC FRONT (TRADE AND INVESTMENT LIBERALIZATION, GREATER AID, ETC.) EVEN THOUGH JAPAN HAS BEEN HIGHLY COOPERATIVE ON THESE ISSUES IN THE RECENT PAST AND A BETTER BALANCE IN OUR TRADE RELATIONS IS BEING ACHIEVED?

D. SHOULD WE DOMIFY OUR POLICY OF EXTENSIVE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION WITH JAPAN?

E. SHOULD WE OFFER TO HELP JAPAN IN THE EVENT OF FAILURE OF ITS RAW MATERIAL SUPPLIES, AS IN THE RECENT OIL CRISIS? WHAT WOULD BE THE BENEFITS -- AND LOSSES -- TO US?

SECURITY

F. CAN AND SHOULD WE SEPARATE OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS (INCLUDING OUR TECHNOLOGY CONTRIBUTIONS) FROM OUR SECURITY PARTNERSHIP?

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 246675

G. WOULD A GREAT REDUCTION, OR EVEN ELIMINATION, OF OUR MILITARY BASES IN JAPAN BE DESIRABLE IN AN EFFORT TO (A) INDUCE A BETTER JAPAN DEFENSE EFFORT, AND (B) IMPROVE U.S.-JAPAN POLITICAL RELATIONS?

H. WOULD IT BE WISE FOR THE U.S. TO PRESS JAPAN FOR A BIGGER DEFENSE EFFORT OR CLOSER DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH THE U.S., AND WHAT LEVERS DO WE HAVE TO DO THIS?

I. TO WHAT EXTENT IS JAPAN HELPING THE U.S. TO BEAR DEFENSE BURDENS (AS BY MAKING VALUABLE LAND AVAILABLE RENT-FREE) AND HOW CAN WE GET JAPAN TO DO MORE?

FOREIGN POLICY

J. WOULD A CLOSER JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BE DESIRABLE FROM THE U.S. POINT OF VIEW, OR WOULD IT DILUTE OUR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AND CREATE A CHANCE THAT JAPAN AND THE EUROPEANS WOULD GANG UP ON US?

K. IS IT LIKELY THAT JAPAN MAY TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN REGIONAL COOPERATION (POLITICAL AND/OR ECONOMIC AND/OR SECURITY) IN EAST ASIA AND WHAT FORM MIGHT THIS COOPERATION TAKE?

L. TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD WE BE WILLING TO SEE JAPAN HAVE CLOSER RELATIONS WITH CHINA? WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

PSYCHOLOGICAL

M. DO WE HAVE SERIOUS MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT THE JAPANESE? STYLE IN DEALING WITH JAPAN -- NIXON SHOCKS -- JAPAN'S FEAR THAT WE LOVE CHINA MORE -- JAPANESE PRAGMATISM AND NARCISSISM VS. U.S. CONCEPUALISM AND GLOBALISM -- JAPANESE DESIRE TO BE PRAISED AND ADMIRED.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDED U.S. POLICY EMPHASIS.
END TEXT. RUSH

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL STABILITY
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 DEC 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: worrelsw
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE246675
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/PC:RBFINN:LPB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731257/abqcekhu.tel
Line Count: 269
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SPC
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: worrelsw
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 NOV 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05-Nov-2001 by elbezefj>; APPROVED <07 MAR 2002 by worrelsw>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 980313
Subject: POLICY TOWARD JAPAN
TAGS: PFOR, JA, US, PFOR
To: TOKYO INFO CINCPAC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005